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Non-Partisan Discussion of International Movements

World Unity

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LEADING ARTICLES

America Declares War—*Editorial*
The Lost Stake of American Diplomacy—*Allinson*
The Naturalistic Outlook—*Krikorian*
Peace With Guarantees—*Perkins*

Interpreting
the spirit of the new age

"In the fullness of time the engineering army will come upon the world stage to measure its strength with the problems of power and destiny in front of mankind."—*Charles A. Beard*

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June 1930

A STATEMENT OF PURPOSE

World Unity Magazine, as its title implies, will endeavor to interpret and record those significant changes in present-day thought which mark the trend toward worldwide understanding and a humanized civilization able to release the finer aspirations of mankind.

Its essential purpose is to make accessible to awakened minds the views and conclusions of creative workers on subjects of truly general interest and importance. The emergence of new and higher values in philosophy, science, religion, ethics and the arts from the alembic of universal unrest represents the focal point of vision for World Unity Magazine.

To create a medium capable of responding faithfully, without prejudice of race, creed, class or nationality, to the uprush of the spirit of the age wherever or however manifested—this is the ideal to which World Unity Magazine is devoted; and faith in humanity arising at last to assert its organic oneness, the foundation on which it stands.

Constructive suggestions will be heartily welcomed from progressive individuals and organizations to assist the Magazine to fulfill its function as a clearing-house of ideas and plans reflecting the organic trends of the age toward world unity and cooperation. The Magazine will endeavor to publish significant articles of a stimulating character, without assuming responsibility for its contributors' views.

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WORLD UNITY

A Monthly Magazine
for those who seek the world outlook

JOHN HERMAN RANDALL, *Editor*
HORACE HOLLEY, *Managing Editor*

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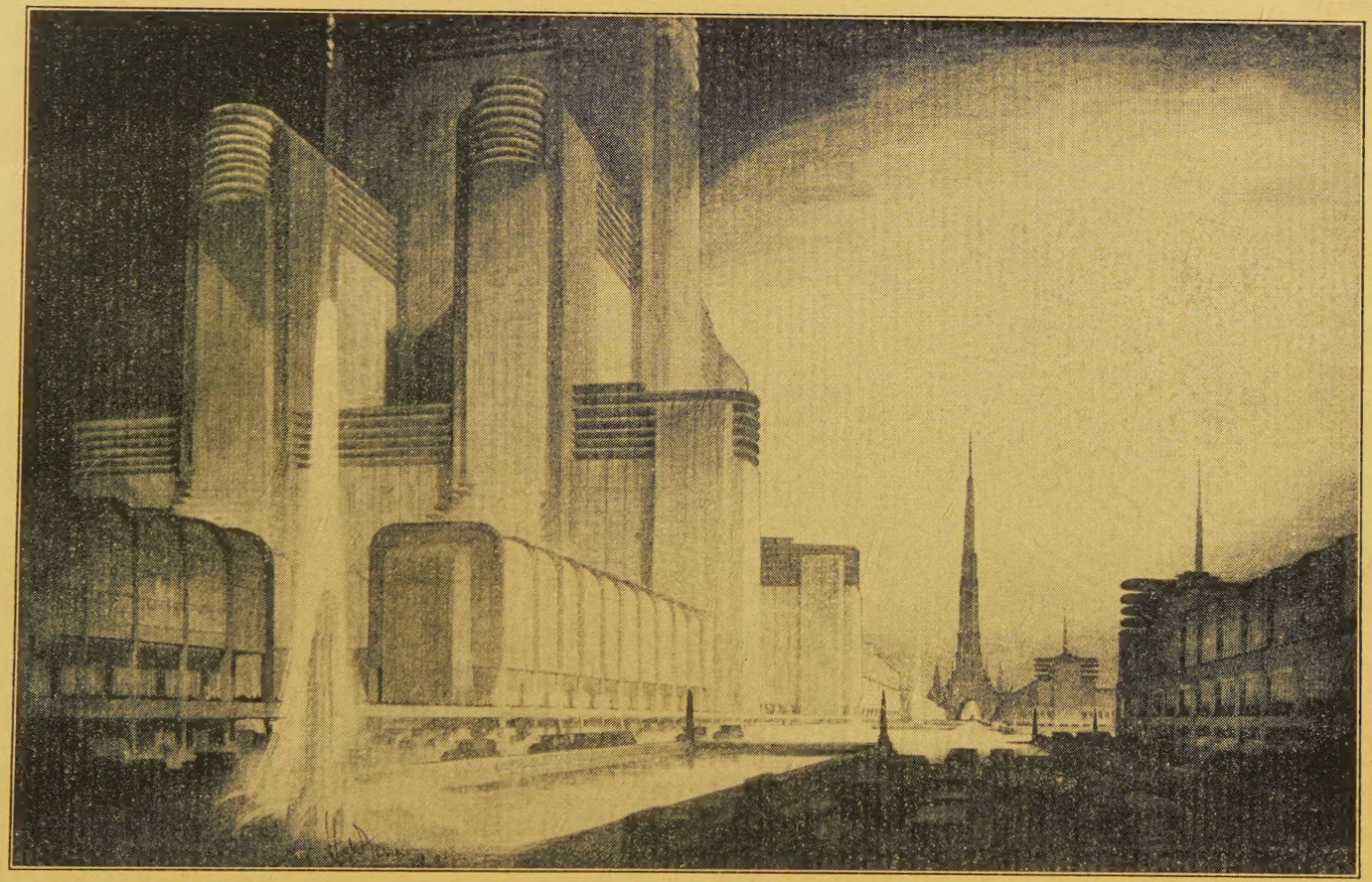

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A SCIENCE CENTER FOR THE CITY OF THE FUTURE

WORLD UNITY MAGAZINE

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EDITORIAL

AMERICA DECLARES WAR

The present tariff policy of the United States is a declaration of war. It differs from a formal proclamation only to the degree that setting a bomb with a time fuse differs from pulling the trigger of a gun. There is still time to stamp out the fuse, but if the fuse is not extinguished a terrific explosion will result.

A time bomb set in a public place is a murderous act, even though the agent does not know what persons will be killed when the explosion occurs. In the same way, the American tariff is a condition productive of international and interclass violence, an instigation to hostile action, and the mere fact that it deals with rate schedules and not punitive measures in the ordinary sense cannot remove it from the category of social crime.

The American tariff policy stands preeminently as the symbol of that fatal official ignorance which in all countries pretends to build peace with one hand while destroying it with the other. Examined in the light of our national intention to observe the Briand-Kellogg pact, it registers a deliberate action so hostile to that pledge that logic compels one to accept the conclusion that the United States has either repudiated the pact or broken its pledge.

In the field of international relations, deeds outweigh words. Only by words have we outlawed war; by deeds we have outlawed peace.

Instead of regarding the tariff as a scientific principle capable of controlling the delicate balance of international commerce on which every one's living now depends, we have held to the view that a tariff supplies one more weapon to meet a ruthless struggle

for existence in which one party or the other must be laid low. A doctrine which arose in the early nineteenth century when nations were industrially self-sufficient and America was financially immature, requiring a measure of protection, has been transformed into a measure of deliberate attack.

The American tariff destroys the balance required for progress and stability in world commerce. It adds an impossible burden to the liquidation of war debts and reparations which alone sustains the Versailles treaty and hence the political structure of all states. It overrides the fact that destiny has so distributed raw materials, labor and consumption throughout the world that only scientific method can solve the problem of prosperity. It encourages the spirit of competition and renews, with the instruments of civilization, the struggle for existence that marks the jungle man.

Like the construction of a new type of poison gas, our tariff policy will provoke counter-measures of attack destructive of the mutually helpful relations between buyer and seller. It is the supreme manifestation of selfish and unenlightened national sovereignty in this post-war world. So long as we demand a militant tariff, we cannot object to the demand of other nations for armed ships and men.

In addition to its evil effect upon international trade, the American tariff likewise makes for disastrous division between producer and consumer at home. It organizes an artificial opposition of interest the ultimate effect of which can be to destroy the American standard of living.

The alternative to an impossibly high tariff is not free trade. Where so many different standards of living prevail, free trade in actual practice means a tariff employing a differential to equalize production costs. The problem of industry today has become so intricate that it can only be solved by a permanent international body which studies it from the international point of view. Until we function in a world economy, national tariff policies must be classified as instruments of war.

THE LOST STAKE OF AMERICAN DIPLOMACY

Lessons from the London Naval Conference demonstrate once more that the evil which men do lives after them while the good oft is interred with their bones.

by

BRENT DOW ALLINSON
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I

THE great London Conference on Naval Disarmament, adjourned in April after months of almost continuous negotiation, marks another milestone in political disillusion. It was, throughout, a disingenuous diplomatic shadow-show in which the five players sought to turn tricks of strategy while playing with words, with symbols of power, and with the honor of great nations. It has passed into the historic limbo of lost causes and defeated hopes which are the eloquent echoes of history, leaving a wave of cynical retrospection and a legacy of political mischief. . . . What are the useful lessons to be learned from this latest diplomatic quest for the treasure that lies at the foot of the rainbow?

It appears, first of all, that the American people have hardly begun to apprehend intellectually the nature of the price of peace; that they have not yet thought realistically enough about their relationship to the disorganized nations of the modern world, nor faced frankly the responsibilities which inevitably they must bear for the continuing disintegration of international society. The problem was, and is, and will be, essentially and primarily a moral and political, not a physical, financial or technical one. The French, blamed most unjustly for their frivolity, are correct and unblinded in affirming again and again that there can and

will be no real disarmament effected without a corresponding increase in international security; and that naval, aerial, and land armaments, and disarmaments, are inseparable aspects of the same political problem which England and America are curiously reluctant to face as a whole.

The naval powers, on their side, cannot be expected to disarm, to renounce the rights of blockade or of neutrality, and to leave unchallenged the taproot of war upon the Continent,—the conscription system,—which prevails almost universally outside of the disarmed Central Powers, to the bedevilment of constructive efforts towards peace and the denial of freedom in idolatrous nationalism. . . . Why, then, instead of opposing France and rejecting or discounting her demands for increased guarantees of political security, did not the representatives of Britain and America unite in firmly suggesting to France, as a *conditio per quam*, the abolition of the military conscription-system in return for a renunciation of the privilege of private blockade and of the right of free trade with belligerent or covenant-breaking states? Surely some vital spark of diplomatic competence and resourcefulness was lamentably lacking in Anglo-American statesmanship! The problem cannot be solved by halves; it hangs together in every aspect. If no private or particular guarantee could be given to France—and it does not appear that M. Briand ever insisted upon that—why was it not made plain to all the world watching attentively the proceedings at London that the progress of disarmament, *pari passu* with that of security, requires a new law of peace upon the seas, built upon the rock of the pledges in the Pact of Paris and embodied in a multilateral agreement among all members of the Family of Nations, in unambiguous terms, for the guidance and the security of all in time of any future menace to peace? That, indeed, is the true function of law—to be less a guardian than a guide, a principle of action formulated in time of peace and lucid thinking for use in time of trouble and of doubt. The modern world will make little progress towards its goal of self-ordered liberty until the chaos and uncertainty which now rule the oceans and the

seas shall be replaced by a positive Sea Code, accepted by all, as the principle of national obligation and the first sanction of peace. For the consideration and careful formulation of that Code we have waited for more than ten years since the convulsive spectacle of the war demonstrated the price of anarchy exacted from neutrals no less than from belligerents—and waited in vain. Neither the League of Nations, nor the naval powers in conferences assembled, have formulated the *sine qua non* of Peace. . . . Why?—

II

It is a curiously frustrating and mysterious fact that this crucial issue, the issue of Neutrality and the implementation of the Peace Pact in terms consistent with its pledge and spirit, was not squarely faced at London. It was skirted—in the quixotic proposal for "humanizing" the use of submarines, than which there could be no more futile logomachy!—and in the esoteric discussion of the consultative pact. But it was not faced with candor or lucidity. It is a strange fact that the larger thinking, the definition of this issue of the joint, if limited, action of the naval powers, according to some plan and principle, for the preservation of the law of Peace in the event of any violation of the Pact whose sponsors we are,—upon which our own security and the world's hangs,—was not seriously attempted by the Americans or the British even at the great Conference of London, whose miscarriage the thinking world deplores. Convened under peculiarly auspicious circumstances, the Conference, indeed, appears to have paddled itself backwards, lost in tiresome and largely meaningless argumentation over the minutiæ of physical gunnage and tonnage, over tables of bristling statistics and the spectral abstractions of parities of power and prestige which, obviously, can neither be maintained in fact, without wasteful and preposterous outlays of money extracted from social construction and the overburdened peoples, nor preserved if established, without a suspension of inventiveness on the part of naval engineers and ballistic experts—which it is impossible

to guarantee. The Conference squandered an historic and a golden opportunity—the opportunity offered by the presence of Ramsay MacDonald and his party in nominal command of the British Government, and of a Quaker in the White House, and of a hunger for political integration and the realization of peace in the world! It sought, not peace, but the illusion of security in the demand for a physical superstition—parity—and was led, as by an *ignis fatuus* in the hands of the Armor-plate Trust, into an unwholesome bog. The performance, instead of confirming the Pact of Paris and establishing it as the new Rosetta Stone of international communication, betrayed it in the home of its friends—a diplomatic denigration and moral defeat familiar to politics but unworthy of statesmanship, and which is not to be concealed, nor atoned, by any temporizing, tri-partite "limitation" of Anglo-American-Japanese naval competition. For, let there be no mistake, a three-power compact is not a disarmament treaty, not even, necessarily, a step in that direction; it is accompanied and overshadowed by a greater tension in a larger sphere. The Entente Cordiale and the Triple Entente of familiar memory were built upon similarly amiable military and naval "understandings" between the powers concerned; but they set the stage for war and not for peace in the theatre of the world.

Instead of our present 80,000 tons of cruisers, or 200,000 tons, if all the ships now under construction are included, the American delegation at London asked and was authorized, in agreement with Great Britain and Japan, to build up to 327,000 tons, which will require an expenditure of over three hundred million dollars on this item alone. We have spent only about fifty million dollars on naval construction and replacement in the last two or three years.

The tri-partite "naval limitation" treaty apparently authorizes the United States, in the name of parity—the costliest superstition of the decade—to proceed to a new building and naval replacement program involving an expenditure of approximately $170,000,000 a year for the next five years, in spite of the "battleship holiday" declared in the first treaty of Washington.

The estimate, according to Mr. Paul Scott Mowrer, Chief of the Chicago Daily News London Conference Bureau, is based on the following calculations:

"The United States will . . . finish seven 8″ gun cruisers, $17,000,000; build ten new 8″ gun cruisers, $170,000,000; build eight 6″ gun cruisers, $120,000,000; replace wholly 47 destroyers, $94,000,000; replace partially nine others, $9,000,000; build 81 destroyers, $162,000,000; and build three aircraft carriers, $57,000,000; and 54,000 tons of additional submarines $162,000,000, replacing partially five, $7,814,000." Grand total $798,814,000 to be spent in order to achieve parity with Great Britain before the next disarmament conference is called five years hence! . . .

III

In the light of history, the preservation of peace is so intimately connected with acknowledgments of justice, and so little assured by dispositions of physical forces made in the name of the *status quo*, or the Balance of Power, that it behooves responsible citizens with a modicum of intelligence to inquire what they are doing, to discover on what rules of action their policy is to be guided, when some new, or obscure, orientation is made in the form of private compacts rather than public law. . . .

How were the rules of international conduct reached and established in the past? . . . The fact of compromise struck between opposing legal conceptions and opposing forces has been emphasized by learned commentators and historians, and the felt need for affirmative, unambiguous, and open definitions of law, as against fiat and chaos and a progeny of evils upon the sea, was perceived and proclaimed by some of the most conspicuous and influential jurists, British included, who ever devoted their attention to the development of interstate law and to the great effort of civilization to substitute justice and jurisprudence for lawless violence in international affairs. The Continental view, too often ignored in America at the peril of truth, was forcefully stated many years ago by Heinrich von Treitschke, for example,

in the course of his celebrated lectures on history at the University of Berlin towards the close of the Century of Chaos. Said he:

> "Every new victory (in the 18th Century) of the English over the French became an occasion for trampling the law of nations underfoot. Under the appearance of fairness and justice, revolting ill-treatment of neutrals was perpetrated at sea. When the American colonies, which in the Seven Years War against France had fought heroically on England's side, broke away from the mother country, a feeling of malicious joy passed over every land. . . . In face of England's commercial policy, utterly unconscientious, carrying on incitements and intrigues throughout the world, all other civilized nations must necessarily seem to one another natural allies. For England was the mainstay of barbarism in international law. It was her fault alone that naval warfare, to the scandal of mankind, remained organized piracy. . . . It was the common task of nations to establish on the seas that balance of power, which had long existed on *terra firma*, the beneficial balance which made it impossible for any state to go to extremities, and consequently caused a humane international law (of land warfare) to develop."

In reaching now some private understanding with Great Britain and its governors, it is a fair and timely question to put to ourselves—recognizing that it will be put by others—whether America is agreeing to connive at the maintenance of "barbarism in international law," to perpetuate knowingly, or unknowingly, the organized piracy upon the sea which, in the eyes of the non-British world, is the scandal of mankind. Certainly private agreements to act together, even for the perpetuation of peace, do not, and will not, pass for equivalents of public law.

The law of nations has been a long time in development; yet it has developed into a respectable department of recognized jurisprudence, taught in universities, cited and confirmed by courts, practised by governments even in time of war, and gener-

ally respected in times of peace. But there have been at least two divergent tendencies operating through the centuries, in the process of formulating the rules of social intercourse between nations and of commerce and warfare upon the seas. The older, a theory known as that of the *Mare Clausum*, or the Closed Sea, strikes its root in the imperial system of Rome and in ancient Roman law. The other, known as the *Mare Liberum*, or Free Sea, was born with the spirit of freedom, and is as old as Greece and the times of Thucydides, who expatiated upon the moot questions of naval power and maritime law in his celebrated *History of the Peloponnesian War*. The latter theory was reaffirmed by the great trading-guilds of the middle ages and confirmed by the conception of a congeries of sovereign nation-states possessing equality before the law, a conception which is the foundation of the modern world. To the defense of it Britain as well as America is theoretically committed; but, in practice, particularly in the critical struggle with Napoleon, and in the World War of 1914–1918, the British Admiralty abandoned it in favor of measures designed to close the high seas against the ships of their enemies, and even to restrict and search those of neutral nations bound for neutral ports, and which, in the opinion of officers of the British Admiralty, were carrying goods or mail destined ultimately for the enemy. The North Sea, if not the Atlantic, thus became as much of a "British lake" as ever the Mediterranean became a Roman sea.

Against these illegal practices the United States vigorously protested, seeking to affirm and secure the rights of all neutral states and shipping to enjoy the largest liberties of commerce even in time of war, as against the pretensions of belligerent naval powers seeking to abridge them. In particular, the United States protested against the arbitrary extension of the "contraband list" of goods declared prohibited from commerce and confiscable by the naval authorities of belligerent powers even, in some cases, when bound for neutral ports. Such extensions, in war-time, were in flagrant violation of the existing understandings of international law.

IV

From the administration of Washington to that of Wilson the United States had made this defense its most distinctive and consistent policy. The War of 1812 was fought ostensibly because of the affronted rights of American shipping and for the neutral freedom of the seas. Upon its conclusion and the recognition in practice of the security of American seamen on American ships from impressment by the British—although the Treaty of Ghent was strangely silent about it—American diplomacy, through the efforts of successive secretaries of State, sought to go still further during the Nineteenth Century in order to establish not only the security of neutral property from seizure but even of enemy private property, and of all property laden upon neutral ships. This was the principle known as *Free Ships Make Free Goods*—a phrase bandied during the War of 1812, echoed by Jackson, supported by Webster and Pierce in all earnestness, and proposed by the American delegation to the International Conference of Paris, in 1856, with the approval of many of the lesser states of Europe. That notable conference did not ratify the proposal, but it did definitely limit the belligerent right of blockade to one that could be *effectively maintained before a designated port or ports*; and such became the recognized international law of the sea, together with the right of visitation and search of neutral ships by belligerent cruisers, allowed under certain conditions when due caution for safety was observed.

It may be recalled that the United States was not the only neutral power protesting against belligerent aggressions upon its shipping in time of war. Catharine II. of Russia and her Government made the defense of neutral shipping from seizure or other acts of aggression the basis of the famous northern Leagues of the Armed Neutrality, of 1789–93. The greatest aggressions upon neutral commerce in violation of international law occurred, however, in the World War of 1914, prior to the participation of the American nation in that calamitous struggle. Early in its course the British Admiralty saw fit to announce an extension of

the list of goods declared contraband and, as such, subject to search and seizure; the list was extended from time to time until nearly every important article of international commerce was included, even foodstuffs and "coal of enemy origin." The North Sea was mined and virtually closed to free commerce and the imports of the neutral states abutting upon it and upon the Baltic were "rationed," despite the agreements and the laws previously established by the nations, notably by the Hague Convention governing the conduct of warfare at sea. In this connection, a passage in the Memoirs of Lord Grey, British Foreign Secretary during the War, is of interest. He says:* "The Navy acted and the Foreign Office had to find the argument to support the action; it was anxious work. British action provoked American argument; that was met by British counter-argument. British action preceded British argument; the risk was that action might follow American argument." In other words, the violators of sea-law feared, not unnaturally, that the victims of their violations might combine to enforce respect for the law. In fact, a strong body of American sentiment then earnestly besought President Wilson to convene a conference of the neutral states with a view to some combined action in defense of the rights of commerce and the sanctity of international law, in the belief that such a step, taken in connection with others, would compel an early cessation of the international massacres then in progress and entail a wise and just conclusion of the War by the general recognition of the futility of violence and the necessity of compromise and readjustment,—without victory for either belligerent but with one rather for humanity, led by the neutral world. . . . Such a step, it is still to be deplored, was never taken.

As the years pass, the full measure of that failure, and of the aberration and disaster of the War to America and to the hopeful ordering of international society dawns ever more clearly on the American mind. The case was stated plainly enough, although, perhaps, unwittingly, by a British writer in the *Fortnightly Review*, in the autumn of 1917, saying: "The defection of the United

* Volume II., p. 110.

States from the ranks of the non-combatants, not only tightened the British blockade in regions, as in the Baltic, where it had not been effective, but also rendered the word *neutrality* a meaningless phrase as compared with the potency it possessed before April, 1917." . . . *It now appears that that defection surrendered more than the peace of the American people; that for the sake of a short-term goal—the defeat of Germany—it surrendered for years American defence of the law of nations, as well as the liberty of judgment and long-term impartiality of action of the United States in the cause of peace.* There is growing reason to believe that ever since 1920, the American people have been endeavoring, by one political repudiation after another, to recover the potency and independence of non-combatant political action which they enjoyed, and which they might have wielded for that "Peace without Victory" which gleamed for a time upon their vision, for the healing of the nations, early in 1917, but vanished utterly on the stormy April midnight when Congress obeyed the summons of the President to declare a state of war. The recent nomination of Ruth Hanna McCormick as Republican candidate for United States Senator, in Illinois, by an overwhelming majority over her pro-League Court opponent, is but the latest of these repudiations in search of liberty, justice and peace. Political neutrality was then, and remains, the core of American thought concerning Europe. Our statesmanship of peace must build upon that rock, or build in vain.

The angry retaliations of German submarine power to the measures aimed at the starvation of the peoples of the Central States, had for their principal and tragic consequence the entry of the American Government into the struggle upon the other side; and thereby was brought about a complete confusion of the question of maritime law, and an adjournment of the argument concerning the juridical position of neutral states in time of war, and of war itself. The world now faces, in 1930, exactly the same problem which American opinion and diplomacy was actively considering fifteen years ago, with the horrible experiences of the War lending emphasis and gravity, if no clarification, to its con-

sideration. . . . Is it possible, in the white light of the Kellogg Pact renouncing and condemning war as an instrument of public policy, to settle the ancient argument, for the salvation of posterity? It remains to be seen. Certainly, *it was the most important American interest at stake in the great Conference of London. And it was not settled there.*

This was the "missing-link" in the diplomacy at London. It was the *sine qua non* of progress. If America and Britain had announced to Europe and the world that the two naval powers stood prepared to guarantee the delivery of food-stuffs, under all conditions, *to all non-belligerent states*, i.e., to all states which honor their signatures of the Kellogg-Briand Pact and their membership in the peace system which it founds, in return for genuine naval and military disarmament on the sea and land, and in the air,—if they had done this the attention of the world would have been focussed on the central problem of its security, and on the needed revision of international law in accordance with the exigencies of the Peace Pact; and we might be congratulating ourselves today that the long-heralded dawn of an end to the cruel international anarchy, and particularly to the chaos that reigns upon the sea, was, in veriest truth, brightening into a new day for humanity, into a day that would relegate the Balance of Power system, and the potentially evil "sanction" system embedded in the Covenant of the League, to the dark ages where they belong, to an outgrown midnight of mistrust and misdealing.

Peace, whose sole admissible "sanction" is justice, is not a static thing. It does rest on force—on moral force—and on enlightened and honorable policy, guided by law. We shall get nowhere save more deeply into mischiefs until these elementary principles are understood and applied, and until the nations can meet upon the plane of honest reformation of law and policy, rather than in the cockpit of competitive and ill-concealed struggles for physical powers, predominance, "parity" or prestige, whose technicalities affright and obscure the minds of men and set them drifting towards whirlpools of ruin.

The damage done at London can not be repaired at any other naval conference, whether at Geneva or elsewhere. The next step must be in but one direction to be forward. That is towards the summoning of a *political* conference of the nations which are members of the Peace System, of *all* the signatories of the Pact of Paris, for the single purpose of implementing the Pact, i.e., of revising the existing statutes of neutrality in order to reconcile them with the exigencies of an integrated international society which faces the necessity of security or the certainty of perdition. The Porter and the Capper Resolutions are useful adumbrations of progress towards a new principle of law and associated action in its defense. But that action cannot be taken by America alone, nor by any other separate state. To establish it a piece of affirmative international legislation is called for—a multilateral pact or act. That step, which every agency of internationalism should unite to urge, may be initiated by the President of the United States most appropriately. It would, in effect, be a convening of the long-postponed third International Conference for the promulgation of conventional law, the first two of which met at the Hague a decade and more before the disaster of the War. We have been following a misleading and futile pathway in the search for Peace ever since we deviated from the juridical approach to the Great Society,—of which we are physically member, but mentally and politically self-exiled, and hence misrepresented by others. There is no safety for the United States in being in this political world of nations but not of it, in possessing vast power and influence but acting as if America could live above, or outside, the law. God give us statesmen who can translate these realities into appropriate action—before it is too late!

THE WORLD WE LIVE IN

Men live less and less in geographical and more and more in spiritual communities. The involuntary elements of existence tend to be limited to the regional area, the voluntary elements find increasing opportunity of self-expression through association of likeminded people selected out of the entire population by identity of interests and ideals. In this department, *World Unity Magazine* will publish each month a brief description of some important modern movement, voluntary in character and humanitarian in aim, believing that knowledge of these activities is not only essential to the world outlook, but also offers the true remedy for the sense of isolation and loneliness which has followed the breakdown of the traditional local neighborhood.

THE FREE RELIGIOUS MOVEMENT TOWARD WORLD RELIGION AND WORLD BROTHERHOOD

by

WALTER WALSH

Leader of the Movement, London

SO FAR as Great Britain is concerned, the Movement originated in Dundee, Scotland, in the year 1912, when the present writer, being at the time minister of a liberal Christian church, was legally pronounced by the highest Scottish Law Court to have non-christianized himself by his acceptance of the logical results of Comparative Religion, and was ejected from his charge. It was held that to put other religious founders in the same category as the traditional founder of Christianity was to cease to be a Christian. To be Christian (it was specifically stated) one must connect his ethic as well as his religion with "Christ." The minister (who is also the present writer) did not dispute the legality of the decision, and commenced the Free Religious Movement in the city's largest hall.

Shortly afterwards the minister removed to London on the invitation of the Theistic Church left vacant by the death of Charles Voysey, but in 1916, by vote of committee and congregation, he was dismissed from his charge owing to his opposition

to the war. He at once commenced the Movement in Steinway Hall.

The leader of the Movement acknowledges his indebtedness to the earlier "Frei Religiöse Bewegung" in Germany and to the "Free Religious Association" formed independently in the United States some sixty or more years ago, sponsored by men like Emerson, Higginson, Wendte, and Jenkyn Lloyd Jones, and culminating in the epoch-making Parliament of Religions. He was made well acquainted with that liberalizing movement in the course of various preaching and lecturing tours in the country, including a great day in the Theodore Parker Memorial, Boston, and he remains in close fellowship with its living representatives.

In one respect, however, the British movement makes a new departure, by its extended title indicating a positive aim and policy. A "movement" is something that moves: but whither? "Toward World-religion and World-brotherhood"! It was born of conflict with sectarian Christism on the one hand and nationalistic Militarism on the other, and it seemed fitting to justify itself by specifying World Religion and World Brotherhood as the goal toward which it consciously moved away from the things against which it had revolted.

By its specification of World Religion the Movement is clearly lifted from sectarianism to Universalism, and, true to its nature, makes no denominational attachments, formulates no creed, and practises no rites, but seeks to associate itself with the religion of all mankind as variously expressed by such historic forms as Judaism, Hinduism, Islam, equally with Christianity, and to acknowledge all historic founders such as Guatama, Confucius, Baha'u'llah, as well as Jesus. It invites the religions to fraternize rather than proselytize. During the eighteen years of its existence it has continuously urged cooperation between the great religions leading to a moral confederacy of all creeds and races, aiming to abolish the economic and moral causes of war, and to replace competition and conflict by cooperation and fraternity. It has set forth a practical program of conference between leaders of the great historic sects definitely directed to

the abolition of such international evils as slavery white and black, drug traffic and intemperance, and war. It has advocated a League of Religions, and endeavored (along with others) to get such a League going. Its present leader lives to see these great aims being taken up by powers stronger than he can command, and is glad.

World Brotherhood is the humanist end to which World Religion is the spiritual means. It seeks to reinforce that peace mentality which is surely if slowly permeating the whole world, eliminating religious sectarianisms and racial prejudices on its way. Scientific religion proves the human soul to be a unity demanding that international politics shall organize the racial solidarity of man. The Faiths must draw together in a spiritual consensus that will give high sanctions to a pacific League of Nations. "The Brotherhood of Nations through the Sisterhood of Religions"—that is the slogan of the Free Religious Movement.

Instrumentally, the Movement has at no time possessed resources adequate to its great idea. It has never been rich enough to own premises or erect buildings, and its auxiliary activities have been restricted by the necessity of carrying on in hired premises. But it has utilized to the full the time-honored method of preaching the word in season and out of season—preaching peace in time of war—and it has made good use of the printing press. Several hundreds of the leader's spoken addresses have been published to a total of hundreds of thousands, also many of his books and pamphlets. The associates of the Movement are mostly active in a variety of progressive reform causes, making up in that way for the Movement's shortage of collective action. By literature and correspondence they are kept in touch with similar movements which are going on under different names in every part of the civilized world.

It need hardly be said that the Movement is pacifist to the backbone. It opposes every war or threat of war as it comes along, and will as certainly oppose the next. During the great war the leader supported Conscientious Objectors before various tribunals, and regularly visited those who were in prison. While

the Versailles Treaty was being framed he wrote to President Wilson entreating him to stand by his Fourteen Points, previously securing the signatures of more than a thousand leading British publicists, and it was acknowledged in reassuring terms by the President. When the great design for a Hall of All Religions was being discussed in Benares, he wrote on behalf of the Movement urging the authorities to change the dedication "War" Memorial into "Peace" Memorial, which was gladly agreed to, and the alteration made. He shared in the organization of the important "Conference of Living Religions" held in London in 1924, has served on more than one committee of the League of Nations Union, the National Council for the Prevention of War, and has taken part in various inter-religious and peace congresses in different countries. His book: *The Moral Damage of War* was published in two editions by the American *World Peace Foundation*, and was circulated till America came into the war.

For reasons indicated in course of this paper, the Movement in Britain has not attained numerical importance, and the audiences it gathers in London are relatively small, though made up of men and women who count. Maybe it is too honest to be popular and too thorough to attract riches, but it may modestly hope to tell in the great drive toward righteousness and peace which is going round the world. Signs of the times are many and multiplying. World Religion and World Brotherhood have been visibly drawing nearer during the intervening years. Voices prophetic are many, and not the least significant is that of the magazine *World Unity*.

A WORLD COMMUNITY

The Supreme Task of the Twentieth Century

by

JOHN HERMAN RANDALL

IGNORANCE AND OLD HABITS OF THINKING

WHEN H. G. Wells insisted that it was today "a race between education or catastrophe," he was not thinking of reading, writing and arithmetic. And when James Harvey Robinson says that the great need today is for "more mind," he is not thinking of the ordinary curricula of school or college. It is *a certain kind of education* that these and others have in view when they stress the importance and necessity of education for this age. Perhaps what these leaders mean is best expressed by John Dewey in his recent book, *The Public and Its Problems*, when he says, "the greatest need of the world today is not for new organizations or new institutions, but rather, for an awareness of the new relations into which we have come on this planet."

It is here that we face the primary and most fundamental problem of all, confronting the new ideal of a world community which is now emerging: How can we create the intelligent public opinion that will both demand in the high places of power and authority the men of international mind and world-vision, and at the same time sustain and reinforce them in their leadership, unless there be on the part of people generally a genuine "awareness of these new relations into which we have come"? The particular problems presented by nationalism, imperialism and war, seem impossible of solution only because they are approached from the view-point of the nineteenth century mind. They are interpreted in terms of the Victorian age, and the solutions

attempted belong to a period that is hopelessly gone. Until quite recently there has been little "awareness" that a new age had dawned. It is not only that the new relations have created new situations and new world demands—this much has been apparent to many for some time. The thing that so many fail to see is that these new situations and new world demands require basically new conceptions of the state, and of the relations of nations to one another, the recognition of new functions and untried opportunities, the release of new energies that refuse to be confined to old channels, the discovery of new formulas, the championing of new ideals, the creating of new patterns for the world's life.

The number of those now interested in true internationalism and aware of the new economic relations of the twentieth century is still so small in comparison with the masses of people responsible for political decisions, that when the present "pacifism of exhaustion" has spent its force, a real test of public policy is bound to come. There is undoubtedly a very real will for peace throughout the world today, and many statesmen since 1919 have done much to give popular sanction to this popular will. During the immediate future, pacifism of exhaustion if not of conviction will probably continue to prevail. The real test of the present peace sentiment—the final struggle between nationalism and internationalism—will come in the next generation. It will be the sons, possibly the grandsons of the World War Veterans who will have to make the crucial decision.

We must begin now to prepare the way, however, for the crucial test whenever that may come. The basic difficulty facing those who believe that humanity not only needs but can evolve a genuine world order through the spirit of cooperation, is that only a comparatively small number of people in any country are really interested in international affairs and well informed about them. The masses are not only oblivious of international problems; as the result of the Soviet experiment and propaganda, they are intensely suspicious of any "internationalism," even though it be advocated as political, economic, and moral cooperation.

The situation we face today is that the inertia represented by the nationalistic education spread during the nineteenth century among the masses throughout the West, may lead toward an even worse world war that no agency can check. The one hope of the world lies in education in internationalism and in all that this implies.

At the time that the League of Nations came into existence, Jacob Schiff, the New York banker, was reported to have said, "the League of Nations is good, but it will never solve the problems; it does not go far enough; the real problem is not political but economic." A little later, Alfred Zimmern, a member of the Secretariat of the League, said in a public address, "the problems are political, in a deeper sense they are economic, but these do not go far enough; the real difficulty lies in *the thinking* on both sides of the Atlantic."

This but echoes the convictions of the leaders already quoted above—that we cannot expect to make much progress in the building of the world community until there takes place such a re-education of the thinking of people in all countries as shall make it possible for them to visualize the new world that has been born, and enter into a true appreciation of its new demands. As Paul Richard has said, "How can you change men if things remain the same? How can you change things if men remain the same? It is the very nature of both men and things that must be transformed; it is the consciousness of a new world that must be born in all."

The fact is that while our bodies are living in the transformed world of science and industrialism, our minds, and still more significantly our emotional reactions, are still much the same as those of our fathers and even our grandfathers. Physically, we have grown familiar with the countless new inventions of science and we are all employing them every day; but mentally and emotionally, we have not become orientated to the new environment. We are for the most part like aliens living in a strange world that we do not understand; we are like children playing with mighty forces and powers of whose far-reaching influences

for good or for evil we have scarcely dreamed. Though the changed conditions of the world call most insistently for the full maturity of man's powers, for constructive thinking, creative imagination and the moral and social consciousness, the vast majority of men and women are still in the adolescence period of development and are content to muddle through the difficulties and problems as they arise.

To get back to normalcy, to maintain the *status quo*, to keep things as they are, and above all, to increase, or at least continue, the prosperity of the nation, seems to exhaust the possibilities of the minds and imaginations of the great majority, leaving no time to go forward to higher vantage ground through the gradual building and creation of a better world, or to make the honest and persistent attempt to change things-as-they-are for things-as-they-ought-to-be. This is due in large part to the inherent conservatism of human nature, but still more, to ignorance of the facts, the conditions, the imperative demands, of the new world.

If the re-education of the people in regard to these new world relations is in any measure to be achieved, the first great need is to "humanize the new knowledge," as James Harvey Robinson has aptly phrased it. This is not to be confounded with much so-called "popularization" of knowledge, which is more or less superficial, inaccurate and misleading. But during the last decade real and truly qualified scholars have been publishing books, not technical in form or academic in style, setting forth the new knowledge in philosophy and science, in history and economics, on all questions relating to international politics and world affairs. These books are being read more and more widely by intelligent people, and this is hopeful. But it is amazing how small a fraction of the 120,000,000 population of the United States show any interest whatever in the new knowledge thus made available for the average man.

One of the leading New York publishers when asked recently how many copies of such a book dealing with world politics, which he was just bringing out, he expected to sell, replied, "perhaps 3000, possibly 5000." And who will buy them? he was

asked. His reply was, "Chiefly the scholars, who already know the new facts, while the rest of the American public will go on reading the daily papers and the popular magazines." Here is the serious situation: the knowledge has been made available in "humanized form"; the books have been written and can be had in every bookstore and public library. Librarians and other outstanding leaders are doing their utmost to stimulate interest in the reading of such books. But if the people generally do not, or will not make the mental effort necessary to avail themselves of this new knowledge, how can they ever become "aware of the new relations into which we have come," and how can an intelligent public opinion looking toward a world community ever be created?

The problem still remains—how to reach the millions of others who do not read the new books or attend summer schools, how to awaken in them the international mind that lies at the foundation of the public opinion that must be created if the leadership of men like President Hoover and Prime Minister MacDonald is to be effective. We are not thinking now of the illiterates or morons, but of the leaders in business, in law, in the ministry and other professions, in all the women's groups, and especially those who run for office in city, state or nation. It is from the rank and file of these, and not from the specialized groups alone, that an effective public opinion must come.

It might be supposed that the public press would exert a genuine educational influence along these lines upon the great numbers whose reading is confined to the daily papers. But with notable exceptions scattered throughout the country, the daily newspapers are strongly nationalistic, or so dependent upon the vested interests that they dare not step out of the rut of conventional opinion. The best that can be said for many of them is that they follow, rather than lead and create, public opinion in international matters. We are fortunate in having such liberal magazines as *Foreign Affairs*, *The Nation*, *The New Republic*, *The World Tomorrow*, *World Unity*, and a few others devoted to the development of the international mind, but the combined circu-

lation of them all is so small as to indicate again the widespread indifference to such matters.

But even more important than getting the new knowledge to the rank and file of the people by these and other agencies that might be mentioned, is the necessity of appealing not only to the intellect with these facts, but to the emotions as well. The facts must be presented to the people in such a way that they will understand them and emotionally believe them, for only then are they ready to act upon them. In this sense emotionalized science has had many victories in the field of medicine and surgery. In astronomy, biology, chemistry, physics and psychology, each succeeding year is bringing a richer supply of knowledge. Whether these riches will bear the fruitage of happiness and well-being for mankind depends not upon the new knowledge itself, but upon the degree in which it can be really grasped and emotionally appropriated and, through the forces of socialization, be brought to bear directly and vitally on the life of humanity.

In the same way, it is not enough just to know the new facts of the world's economic interdependence, and all the other changes wrought by the new civilization. We must accept them not with our heads alone but with our feelings. We must let imagination play about the facts until we come to understand and *feel* their meaning, so that they become real enough to us to drive out our old pet theories and long cherished beliefs and make themselves the basis of new attitudes and motives, the driving power of new activities. This is the supreme problem of all education. No knowledge of any kind is ever really ours until it is thus emotionalized, until it becomes a very part of our deepest self and furnishes a new center from whence all our thoughts and feelings and actions proceed. This is the great need today—that all the knowledge of the new facts and relations into which we have come be made to appeal to the deeper understanding and emotions of men, and thus be translated by them into intelligent action.

If the problem of this re-education of adult minds seems dis-

couraging, we turn in greater hope to the younger generation—the boys and girls now in our schools and colleges. In every university, and in all colleges of any standing throughout this country, this new knowledge is being taught, and from the modern view-point. In addition, the college student is not so habituated to the old ways of thinking and feeling as are his parents, and he is therefore much more receptive to the newer conceptions of world relations. He has been born into the new world, has grown up in it and feels at home in it, and so knows nothing about the many conflicts his father and mother passed through in their transition from the old to the new—a transition that is rarely completed by those of the older generation. There is no question but that the boys and girls educated today in high school, college or university do become familiar with the new facts, do accept the scientific view-point, and do come to think of their world in very different terms than those of the previous generation. The old world scarcely exists for them; it certainly has for them little or no reality.

The weakness in our higher education today in respect to this education for the new world, lies in the frequent failure to emotionalize the new facts for the student so that they grip the whole man and energize his entire being. In many instances he goes out into life equipped with the intellectual knowledge of the new facts and relations but without the understanding of their deeper meaning for civilization. At a recent conference of teachers in one of our largest Eastern universities the subject under discussion was this very one of education for world unity. Finally one of those present said, "I begin to see where we fail as teachers; we are all teaching the facts of the changed world, whether in history, science, philosophy, economics, sociology, political science, etc., but we are teaching them in fragments; we are all specialists. I teach the facts as a historian, you as an economist, someone else as a sociologist, but we all fail to give our students a synthetic view of the Whole, we do not make clear the significance of these facts on the life of the world and whither they are leading. For this reason our students leave us with heads

crammed full of the new facts but with no clear vision of a world community as the supreme task of the twentieth century, and without a clear understanding as to *why* it is the supreme task. In just the degree that this is true, are we failing to create the international mind in our students." This is the serious weakness of specialization, and in this statement our professor laid his finger on the reason why so large a proportion of our college graduates fail to play the influential part they might in building the world community.

Despite all failures of every kind, however, the college and university in this country today are doing heroic work in breaking down old barriers of ignorance and prejudice, in dispelling obsolete notions and conceptions and in acquainting those of the younger generation with a realistic view of the world as it is, and increasingly, with a vision of the world as it might be. The older generation is pretty far gone; it was responsible for the hideous breakdown of civilization in 1914–1918, and for the most part it shows little sign as yet of having learned the lessons then written in fire and blood. But the hope for the future lies in the younger generation of today, and in those who come after, for their faces are set toward the future, not toward the past, and they must build the world community, while we at best can only point the way.

Perhaps the fundamental need in the re-education demanded by the new age is the recognition of the immense possibilities that exist for "changing human nature." In his book, *Human Nature and Conduct*, John Dewey, whose authority in this field is unquestioned, tells us that there is nothing easier to change than human nature; the difficult thing to change is the human institutions that constitute our social habits, many of which have been formed, like war, in the far-distant past. The conception that human nature is a static, unchanging thing is utterly disproved both by history and by the findings of our newer psychology. According to the modern view, human nature at birth is simply a bundle of raw materials, instincts, abilities, capacities of various kinds; and what this raw material of human nature becomes

as the new-born child moves on from infancy through childhood and youth to maturity, depends on the environment and the inevitable reactions it calls forth from the individual. This environment includes, of course, the early atmosphere of the home, the ideas, ideals, convictions, beliefs, opinions as well as the example of the parents, the education received in schools, the influence of friends and associates, the atmosphere of the community, the ruling ideas of one's country, the spirit of the age.

In other words, the kind and character of the human nature our children possess and later come to express, depends not so much upon them as upon us—the parents, the teachers, the social and economic institutions, the church, the community, the country, the age, in which the children are born and where they grow up. The older generation is ever seeking to impose its patterns of every kind upon the raw material of each newer generation; and that it so generally succeeds is evidenced by the slow rate at which social progress proceeds. No one questions the value of this conserving influence of the past; neither can one question the grave dangers that lie in our attempts, regardless of new situations that may arise, or new knowledge that may be acquired, to make the new generation just like ourselves in the whole range of our ideas, ideals, convictions, beliefs, etc.

Fortunately, the older generation never altogether succeeds in keeping things at the *status quo* or in moulding the new generation entirely by the old patterns. Again and again in human history, changes in the political, social or economic environment have called forth from new generations entirely new reactions, or ways of acting, than those formerly habitual. This explains why the world, why civilization, institutions, ideas, ideals, convictions and beliefs, are constantly changing, and why human society is a dynamic and not a static thing. It is the real cause of all growth and progress. The wide cleavage that exists today between the older and the newer generations—a cleavage far deeper than most people realize—is due to the fact that the young people of today are growing up in an environment that is radically different than the one in which their parents grew up, not merely

in the material changes that have transformed life, but still more in the whole intellectual, moral and spiritual atmosphere that surrounds them from birth, or at least, from the time they leave the narrow precincts of the home.

Professor Harry A. Overstreet, in a recent article on *Building Up the International Mind*, has illuminated the whole matter of the psychological technique that might in a single generation change our human nature in its entire reaction to present world problems. According to psychology it is the associative linkage of ideas that is responsible for our attitudes toward war, nationalism, imperialism, and everything else. In our education of children we have thus associated the word "war" with something glorious—love for country, great military heroes, glittering parades, bands of stirring music, flags flying, and all the rest. Suppose now as parents and teachers we form a new association in the minds of children by linking up the word "war" with brutal murder, irreparable loss, a relic of barbarism, etc. We should thus build up a new system of associations with the word "war" that would go far toward creating the peace-mind, even as we now deliberately create the war-mind in each fresh generation.

In the same way, he suggests, we might bring about a new associative linkage with the concept "my country." Instead of stressing as we do that it is a place that belongs to *us*, that *we* own it, and all our happiness depends upon its not being taken away from *us*, and that therefore we must pledge our lives and all we possess to defend it against all possible marauders, suppose we linked up in the mind of the child the idea of "my country" with the vitalizing, civilizing idea of "contribution to mankind." Thus the idea constantly evoked from the child by "my country" would be not of his country as primarily a place to defend by force and violence, armies and navies, but rather of his country as a group that can contribute something really great to the ongoing of mankind. If in all our schools and colleges we should study the nations as contributors to each other and to the general advance of civilization, it would help tremendously to purge our present nationalisms of their glaring evils. Then patriotism would be

lifted above all narrow selfishness and petty pride to the plane where it would mean the proud joining-in with the contributory functioning of one's people. This illustrates the way in which we should and might teach internationalism—dramatically and thrillingly—as the next step in man's advance toward a fuller rationality. "In this manner we build up the new associative linkages which will make the mind of the future a very different mind from the pathetically misinformed and emotionally distorted mind of the past," and which will mean a human nature changed to meet more adequately and effectively the transformed conditions of the new civilization.

If the problem of the development of a "new education" that shall prepare the young people of today frankly to face and adequately to cope with the new situations more successfully than the past has done, seems stupendous and impossible of realization, it is nonetheless the fundamental problem, for it is indeed today "a race between education or catastrophe." We must find our courage and inspiration, however, in the many new forces at work in this direction, in the many new educational agencies that have been called into being, and especially, in the new light that science is steadily bringing to bear upon the guidance of human nature and the intelligent control of the complex social forces of the twentieth century. Unless all our education, beginning in the home and carried through the university, can tend directly toward creating the international mind and breaking down the barriers of ignorance and prejudice; unless it can foster increasingly the spirit of international goodwill and the sense of our mutual interdependence as nations and races, then our boasted educational systems will fail utterly in that which is the supreme task today, and education will be an anachronism in the twentieth century. This is inconceivable, however, and the awakening in educational circles to the need of this new education, as well as the splendid way in which our leading colleges and universities are already meeting the demands, gives great ground for hope.

Mr. H. G. Wells, in a recent article, states the present situa-

tion in these words: "My diagnosis of the essential nature of the stresses of the present time is that while everything else has been changing in scale, our emotion-charged traditional concepts of government and loyalty have not expanded to keep pace with that change of scale. There has been a lag in our political apprehensions and a still greater lag in our educational adaptations. We are facing the second quarter of the twentieth century with the already lagging political ideology of the third quarter of the nineteenth, and therein reside most of the distinctive stresses and dangers of our time.

"It is only slowly that it is dawning upon us today that a change of scale and economic range demands a corresponding change in political forms. That is not an adaptation that will arrive by itself. It is a problem for mankind that has to be consciously faced and solved. Under all sorts of falsifications, the sovereign states of the world have been thrusting out in a blind effort to achieve the new scale. One may hazard the general proposition that the outline of history of the last hundred years can be stated as the more or less lucid attempts of all the main sovereign states of the world to secure a world-wide control of the raw materials necessary for the mechanical civilization upon which we have entered. All our modern imperialisms are this: the more or less conscious efforts of once national states to become world-wide. And since at one time there can be only one complete world-wide state upon our planet, enormous pressures and rivalries and conflicts exist and intensify. And it seems to me that only two alternatives about the human future can be considered. Either these jostling and mutually incompatible independent sovereign states, which the great change of scale in the economic processes of life is continually forcing toward world-dimensions, must fight among themselves until only one survives, or else mankind generally must be made to understand the nature of the present process, to substitute for the time-honored but now out-of-date traditions of the independent national sovereignty a new idea of world organization and to determine political efforts in that direction."

NATIONALISM AND INTERNATIONALISM

by

HERBERT ADAMS GIBBONS

Historian

INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION SINCE THE WORLD WAR

WORLD PEACE is a glorious ideal. But it cannot be attained simply by believing in it, by willing it to come, by praying for it. Preaching pacifism and international cooperation without the requisite background of information is sterile. A convincing propagandist must have more than zeal: he must have facts. Most of the advocates of the international peace movement in the United States and elsewhere have not been willing to submit to the discipline of studying the development and manifestations of nationalism in the Old World and the growth of nationalism in our own country. They have kept talking of the goal, and have refused to see the obstacles that have naturally arisen along the path. We believe that their impatience, their refusal to face facts, destroyed the effectiveness of the effort to get the United States into the League of Nations.

Everybody believes in world peace. Public opinion in every civilized country of the world supports the idea of international cooperation within practicable limits. But we must recognize the limits. We must see the barriers. We must work patiently for their removal. As each one successively falls, we go ahead. We can not go ahead while the barriers remain. And how can we remove the barriers unless we see them?

For this reason we have reviewed the evolution of the modern state from an accidental political organism, growing haphazardly and subject to influences other than geographical and economic, into the twentieth century Great Power or small state. We have

tried to show how the Great Powers came into conflict with one another, using the small states and nationalistic movements of subject ethnic elements to advance their own interests. Such a policy, begun in Europe, was continued overseas. Once they became united, with a dominant ethnic element, and succeeded in endowing their country with representative institutions, all the Great Powers, except Austria-Hungary and Turkey, which remained a congeries of nationalities, developed into clubs in which membership was profitable. It paid to belong to a proud and prosperous state. The support of the members of the club was secured by its governors through offering exclusive privileges, to be enjoyed only by members. Those Great Powers, new in club life, who did not have as many privileges in the world as the powers that were older clubs, strove to build more pretentious premises and extend their golf courses. Small states looked on with envy. Some of them tried to become large states. Certain Great Powers, wanting to destroy the others, seized nationalism as the weapon with which they thought they could accomplish their purpose. But the weapon was sometimes a boomerang!

Along with national exclusiveness went the economic pressure and the geographical influences that tended to make peoples interdependent. Some regions, endowed with coal, were susceptible of being transformed into localities in which a large concentrated population, working in factories, could produce far in excess of its own needs. Raw materials to give work had to come from other parts of the world. A part of the food, too, had to be imported. To pay for the raw materials and food industrialized countries had to sell in foreign markets what they produced.

Industrialism heralded internationalism, therefore, at the same time that it developed nationalism.

When peoples began to demand self-government, and fought against alien rulers and their own despots, they felt that their success in attaining self-governing institutions, and making them permanent, was in a large measure dependent upon the simultaneous growth of similar movements in other countries. Here we have Jacobinism spreading out over Europe. Here we have the

appeal of Napoleon to submerged nations. Here we have the significance of the Revolutions of 1830 and 1848—and the attempt of the Paris Commune of 1870 to get all Europe aroused. Here we have the crusaders' cry of the rights of small nations, voiced by French and British statesmen in 1914 and embarrassingly taken up by the President of the United States in 1917, with the motive of uniting the whole world against Germany. Here we have, too, the manifesto of the Third Internationale, and the philosophy of Lenin. Please bear with me! In their international aspect, these things are not so different as one might think. Motivation brings together strange bedfellows.

Constitutionalism and other political and socialistic movements heralded internationalism at the same time that they developed nationalism.

Ever since 1789 internationalism has gone along hand in hand with nationalism. We have seen how nationalism was a unifying influence up to ethnic limits of population among the German and Italian peoples, and how, because there was no single preponderant ethnic element, nationalism was a disruptive influence in the Austro-Hungarian and Ottoman Empires. But in all four of these cases—and in Russia as well—an international movement coincided with the nationalist movement. Italy had her Carbonari and Freemasons; and there have been advocates at times of a wider Latinity than that of the Italian-speaking people. Historically, it has been preached as a revival of the Roman imperial idea, which was international; while ethnically it has reached out to embrace French, Spanish, Portuguese, and Rumanians. The Papacy, dispossessed of temporal power at Rome, remained international. Germany, coincident with unification, gave birth to Marxism, which was to unite the workers of all countries in the common struggle against capitalism. Mingled with Turkish nationalism were two international conceptions: Panislamism and Panturanianism. A racial or religious movement of an all-embracing character helps internationalism in the sense that it breaks down barriers dividing countries and gives a common bond to separated peoples. We might add Zionism, which

came from Vienna. One may call it a nationalistic movement, and yet it is at the same time international.

Nationalism in Europe in the nineteenth century, both as a unifying and as a disruptive influence, was accompanied by some form of international movement in every country.

And then we saw the revolution in communications and tariff policy at work. Railroads helped unification by making essential larger political units. The exigencies of the investment of capital demanded a continuous territory under one central government. Cavour used railroads as an argument for extending the administrative control of Piedmont. Railroads helped materially in quickening the entry of German states into the German Confederation. This was an aid to nationalism. But railroads, in establishing through services, made possible continuous travel across frontiers. The moment you are able to go to sleep in one country and wake up in another you are on the way toward internationalism. The breaking down of internal tariff barriers consolidated the authority of states, as in Prussia, and tended toward the formation of larger political units. A *Zollverein*, gradually taking in more and more political units, made people begin to think beyond narrow and arbitrary political frontiers: then those frontiers disappeared. What economists call division of labor helped build up nations, especially in Central Europe. But the exchange of raw materials and manufactured products, with two railroad journeys to bring about the result, was a great aid toward (a) a larger political organism, and at the same time (b) an international frame of mind. We might add banking, which became irrevocably international after the underwriting of the indemnity imposed upon France by Germany in 1871. Investments and credits made those who had money vitally interested in the stability and prosperity of neighboring states, of whose existence they had hardly been aware before. There is no more broadening adage than "Where your treasure is, there will your heart be also."

Economic and financial forces built up nationalism and at the same time foreshadowed internationalism.

It is possible for the student of European history to look upon the World War as the inevitable liquidation of numerous problems that had to be solved and currents that had to be allowed to run their course. Tolerant observer of human nature, and more amused than indignant, the student can even consider the Peace Conference as the end of an old rather than the beginning of a new era. The statesmen gathered in Paris in 1919 were those who had waged the war, who had inherited and who had helped to increase the gravity of problems that made for an intolerable international situation. Why blame them for running true to form? In making the peace they were still making war. They were still the captives of outworn formulae of the conduct of international relations. They were supported in their extravagant madness by public opinion that had been inflamed by the war and that was laboring under delusions and illusions. Because they were soon going to die and be gathered to their fathers, they had only to think of the advantage of the moment and of capitalizing prejudice and hatred that would not long outlast themselves.

This seems a harsh thing to say. But it is only because we are able to say it that we can count ourselves among the optimists. If one thought that the Peace Conference mentality was going to persist in Europe and throughout the world there would be no use of talking about internationalism, and thinking that it would be ever possible to have "Peace on earth, goodwill among men." If I have given what may seem a destructive criticism of the settlement made after the World War, it is only because I have desired to set forth, in an objective fashion, the facts in the case. I was at Versailles, in the Salle de Glaces with my wife, on the day the Treaty was signed. At the moment General Smuts appended his name, ushers passed out a mimeographed statement of his position, which I still have. The words of his protest were prophetic. He wanted everyone to know that he was signing under duress, when he stated:

> The promise of the new life, the victory of the great human ideals, for which the peoples have shed their blood and their treasures without stint, the fulfillment of their

aspirations towards a new international order and a fairer, better world, are not written in this treaty. . . . There are territorial settlements which in my humble judgment will need revision. There are guaranties laid down which we all hope will soon be found out of harmony with the new peaceful temper and unarmed state of our former enemies. There are punishments foreshadowed over most of which a calmer mood may yet prefer to pass the sponge of oblivion. There are indemnities stipulated which cannot be exacted without grave injury to the industrial revival of Europe, and which it will be in the interests of all to render more tolerable and moderate. There are numerous pinpricks which will cease to pain under the healing influences of a new international atmosphere.

The real peace of the peoples ought to follow, complete, and amend the peace of the statesmen. . . . I am confident that the League of Nations will yet prove the path of escape for Europe out of the ruin brought about by this war. . . . The enemy peoples should at the earliest possible date join the League, and in collaboration with the Allied peoples learn to practise the great lesson of this war, that not in separate ambitions or in selfish domination, but in common service for the great human causes, lies the true path of national progress.

How much more clearly than President Wilson did General Smuts realize the failure of Versailles! Smuts himself had once been a vanquished signer of a treaty. The British had accorded the fallen foe a magnanimous peace; they had extended the hand of fellowship to Smuts, and had invited him to cooperate with them in building in common a new South Africa. His own experience and his sporting instinct combined to make him speak out at the moment the Treaty of Versailles was signed. He told the truth. Everybody knew that he told the truth. In only one thing did he go wrong. Like other idealists, he placed too much faith in the League of Nations.

But when I make this statement I ask myself whether I am

right in doing so. It is easy enough to criticize the shortcomings of the League. I have had too little faith in the League's ability to substitute international cooperation for national selfishness in shaping the destinies of the world. The League Covenant seemed to me to be couched in terms that would enable the victorious nations to dominate indefinitely both the vanquished enemies and their own small allies. In the decade since it started to function the League has shown at times its impotence; and it has been guilty of a few crimes of commission and many of omission.

I could enumerate the shortcomings of the League. But I shall not take time to do this. It is more to the point to call attention to what the League has accomplished, despite the abstention of the United States, in furthering international cooperation.

Before 1914 there were a number of international commissions, and some definite and permanent international organizations, notably the Postal Union. An International Opium Commission had been functioning for fifteen years. There had been two conferences at The Hague, in 1899 and 1907, which had discussed in detail causes of friction that led to war, moot points of international law, and better machinery for arbitrating disputes among nations. The deliberations of the Hague Conferences had resulted in definite conventions and the erection of the machinery for the arbitration of international disputes. When the League began to function at Geneva, in 1920, it took over the international commissions, with the exception of the Postal Union which remained at Berne; and it started in to draft the rules for the Permanent Court of International Justice, which was finally established in 1923. The advantage of this court over the former Hague Tribunal was its permanency. The antebellum organization was simply the machinery for convening a court. In each instance, judges from the panel had to be chosen by diplomatic negotiation and to be brought to The Hague for a particular case.

No one can deny that the grouping of international organizations of a social—or rather non-political—nature at Geneva has

facilitated international cooperation. Even though the United States is not a member of the League of Nations, we have sent delegates to take part in the deliberations of the non-political commissions. The Covenant provided for an International Labor Bureau, which has done splendid work in securing uniform legislation throughout the world for hours of labor and conditions of work. To one who sits down to think it out the rôle of such an organization appears tremendous. One of the most potent factors in creating an international spirit and free international intercourse is the social levelling or equalization of conditions of labor throughout the world. Every proposal or recommendation of this branch of the League of Nations, when it is adopted by the member countries, brings them nearer to the standards of living and the conditions of labor in the United States, and will have a bearing later on the revision or abolition of tariffs.

It had not been in existence two years when the League of Nations realized the necessity of world-wide intellectual cooperation. As nations have become literate the influence of higher education, newspapers, magazines, public lecture courses, and books has become greater. For better or for worse university professors, publicists, and men of letters have shaped public opinion. In fact their influence upon the thought of the masses is what that of the Church used to be before the eighteenth century. The League of Nations realized that internationalism—I mean internationalism in the sense of closer cooperation for the general good—could gain ground only through fuller international intellectual cooperation. A bureau for this purpose, established in Paris, has developed interesting and valuable contacts throughout the world.

In its political work, the League has not had an easy time. It was a mistake to make it overseer of the administration of the Saar and Dantzig, and to entrust it with the plebiscite in Upper Silesia. It should never have become involved in the supervision of German armaments. Its rôle in the exacting of an accounting for mandate administration has been disappointing. And the successive September assemblies have proved dull and futile, although

questions vital to permanent world peace have frequently been raised by the delegates.

The power of the League is in the hands of the Council, and its authority is exercised by the permanent Secretariat. For several years the Council was completely controlled by British and French, in the sense that when the foreign ministers of these two Powers were agreed, the Council did what they said. But that has changed since Fascism gained control in Italy and since the admission of Germany to a permanent seat on the Council. Mussolini has asserted the dignity of Italy by threatening to exercise from time to time the prerogative of veto. Germany has made herself, for obvious reasons, the spokesman of minorities and mandated territories. Then, too, the Council has been enlarged. It is more representatively international than it used to be. When Brazil was a member of the Council, she voted against the admission of Germany, thus creating a great scandal.

While the Council has escaped from the domination of its creators, the Secretariat still remains predominantly Anglo-French. The Secretary-General and the chief of the economic section are Englishmen, while the heads of the two bureaus whose important work is stressed above—Labor and Intellectual Cooperation—are Frenchmen. The languages of international machinery are English and French. Since the Germans have entered the League, on a footing of equality, they are becoming more insistent upon having their full share of the offices and upon the use of the German language. Mussolini every now and then declares that Italy is not properly represented in the League's executive machinery.

In this he is right. The Spanish also are right in complaining that they were given the small end of the horn at Geneva. Spanish is the language of more members of the League than use any other medium. There are more Spanish-speaking people in the New World than the whole population of France. Then up pops Brazil, declaring that she, as well as Spain, has a right to a permanent seat on the Council. The thirty million Brazilians are more than all the rest of South Americans put together. Since

the United States did not exercise her privilege under the Treaty of Versailles, there is no permanent member of the Council from the New World. And how about China? There are at least five times as many Chinese as there are Japanese. China, in fact, claims to contain one quarter of the world's population. Why should she not have a permanent seat?

Nowhere more than at Geneva is there so frequent a *reductio ad absurdum* in an argument. If the League of Nations served no other purpose, it would at least be a warning of the almost insurmountable difficulties of creating a fair and representative administrative organ of international cooperation. There are many nations. All have their pride, and, if we take population and extent of territory alone, Spain, Brazil, and China would seem to have as much right to permanent membership in the Council and to a large representation in the Secretariat as British, French, Germans, and Italians. And then we must remember that three countries, each in its own sphere the largest of its kind, have as yet no part in the League. Russia has not only the greatest extent of territory of any country in the world, but she is the largest unit of the white race; the United States has more English-speaking population than the British Empire and is the wealthiest country in the world; and Mexico is the most populous of the Spanish-American republics. Argentina, most powerful of Spanish-American countries and wealthier than Mother Spain, has never had more than a lukewarm interest in the League.

These statements are not made in the spirit of captious or destructive criticism. Facts are facts: we must face them. The League of Nations is a great conception. It has within it the hope of a closely-knit and universal organization for international cooperation. But if we consider the total abstention of the United States, Russia, and Mexico; the indifference of Argentina; the withdrawal of Brazil; the inferior position of China; and the equivocal participation of India, we cannot in all fairness regard the League, as at present constituted, as a thoroughly representative and inclusive international organization.

(*To Be Continued*)

RELIGION AND THE NATURALISTIC OUTLOOK

by

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I

Historically religion has been the most influential outlook on life. From time immemorial the human race has organized its ideals and hopes around religious beliefs and dogmas. During the modern period, however, this influence has been on the decline. There have been attempts to regain its former power, but on the whole these have been unsuccessful. The causes for this decline are many and complex. Some attribute it to the perversions and sins of the modern world, others to the development of science, or, again, to the new external changes of the technological age. Be the reasons what they may, the fact remains that for many the former authority and glamour of religion are gone; and religion in this discussion, it should be mentioned, signifies the major, historic religions, primarily Judaism and Christianity, rather than the individualistic, philosophic religions, which are inexhaustible in number and meaning.

The religious outlook is being superceded by the current world-outlook known as naturalism. This outlook, though not novel in the history of thought, has been gaining great power since Galileo, Kepler and Newton, and especially during the last hundred years. According to this view the world is an interconnected whole of entities or events existing in space-time. There is perpetual change, but this change must be described in terms of natural laws or uniformities. The only valid or worthwhile information about the structure and nature of this world is,

therefore, the verifiable knowledge attained by the methods of science. In this naturalistic world-image there is no place and no necessity for the supernatural. Instead of a supernatural world we have the universe of the mathematical physicist, where we trace more and more uniformities. With the development of biology and psychology the same outlook is applied to the interpretation of life and mind. Most of the modern biologists and psychologists have given up the notions of non-material agencies, such as vital force, entelechy, or soul, and are developing an observable and experimental science. Living and mental beings are considered to be aggregates or configurations of physico-chemical entities, even though certain new qualities may emerge through these configurations which might not be describable in terms of physics. The most abiding and permanent things seem to be, therefore, not spiritual or human, as religion has always maintained, but neutral, indifferent and non-human.

Nor is religion to be excluded from the order of nature. Historical and psychological studies of religion are developing more and more an intelligible, naturalistic interpretation of religion. Through historical and critical studies we have come to understand the origin and development of myths, rituals and dogmas, the birth and death of gods, and the final emergence of the God of monotheism. Although it is true that the value of religious beliefs and rituals is not to be determined by the nature of their origin, there is no doubt that historical investigations have swept away their former supernaturalistic glamour. For the historian religion is one among many other human enterprises. He treats it with the same impartiality and objectivity as he does other aspects of history. It is only a certain type of interpretation that attributes to religion a transcendental significance. As far as historical evidence is concerned, religion is a purely racial event, having the beauty, the pathos, and also the limitations which belong to such events.

The psychology of religion presents a similar interpretation. From the psychological point of view religion is created to satisfy certain fundamental human needs. Man finds himself face to face

with an environment which he cannot meet single-handed, so he creates gods or powers to help him in his struggle for existence. Or, again, the group projects an all-embracing ideal in order to regulate its economic, political and social activities. In due time this ideal is personified and becomes the object of worship. Religion for the psychologist, therefore, whether studied from the individual or the social point of view, is inalienably human and explicable in psychological terms.

Religion has still, of course, her great influence, her many institutions, and her persuasive representatives. There are also vitalists like Driesch, Bergson, McDougall and their followers, and idealists of innumerable types from Berkeleyan Subjectivists to Hegelian Absolutists. Naturalism, however, with its application to physical nature, biology, psychology, and history is becoming more and more the pervasive intellectual background of the modern mind. Nor should the new developments in modern physics, such as the theory of relativity and the quantum theory, which are exploited by theologians and religious-minded scientists in favor of religion, be considered as signs of the downfall of naturalism. Although it is true that new concepts are breaking up the complacent materialistic dogmas of the 18th and 19th centuries, science has never been stronger in human civilization than at present. The modern concepts of physics are profounder and more imaginative developments of prior scientific thought. The difficulties involved in the application of rigid causality or natural law to the microscopic world, e.g., may be due not to any irregularity in nature but to our ignorance. But even should it be established that nature is fundamentally irrational, that would be no evidence whatsoever for the truth of religion.

It is unnecessary, of course, to assume that naturalism is the final outlook. Any dogmatism in world-outlooks, whether religious or scientific, is folly. These outlooks are, after all, major beliefs and not completely verified theories. The successive defeat of world-views should make us suspect that the beliefs we entertain are only relatively true and therefore open to modification in the light of new evidence. Naturalism, however, even though

it should eventually prove to be another cosmological folk-lore replacing the older ones, seems to have come to remain with us for a long time. At present, at least, despite many baffling problems, it is for many the most convincing outlook.

II

But if naturalism is our modern outlook, our morality has been carried over from the religious view. For generations the human race has based its fundamental attitudes on religious beliefs, and now with the break-up of traditional beliefs, these attitudes are disintegrating. Quite a few, especially the young, accept the new outlook even with enthusiasm. But for many there is a dilemma, whether to cling to religion in order to have emotional and moral equilibrium or to accept the scientific, naturalistic view of life at the expense of emotional instability. The half-way compromises suggested by many modernists in religion will not alleviate the difficulty, for the changes introduced by science are too drastic and radical.

The same situation will also be found to obtain after a study of the new external conditions and activities created by machinery. We live in a new era, a mechanical and technological one. Steam, electricity, and machinery have evolved a new civilization. They have changed our occupations, populations, environmental settings, and even our world of imagination. Instead of preoccupying ourselves with wind, weather, and soil, we busy ourselves with commerce, manufacture, and mechanical inventions. A population formerly large enough for a whole nation is crowded into a single city. The physical environment, instead of being mountains, rivers, and pasture lands, is apartments, tenements, and factories. And, again, regions which were inaccessible, and therefore mysterious, are accessible now; and the powers which awed human beings and evoked fear and worship are now being used for mass production. These changes are too obvious to be enlarged upon. But although all of our external conditions have changed, our social and moral ideals and institutions remain fixed. These ideals and institutions being the re-

sult of agricultural, rural, and feudal periods, do not function effectively in our industrial era.

Thus there are at present two sets of rival moral attitudes: the traditional and religious, still possessing a certain authority and attractiveness but increasingly ineffective; and the newer, naturalistic and realistic but as yet undeveloped and unorganized. It is no wonder that this conflict has created great confusion.

What is necessary, therefore, is the reformulation and reorganization of morality in the naturalistic and industrial setting. As to what these ideals or attitudes should be in detail needs very careful study, but we may at least attempt to make our meaning clear. Morality, briefly stated, is concerned chiefly with two problems, with the ends one should adopt and the means one should select. Now the ends, the goods or values, we should pursue are the maximum development of the potentialities inherent in life—the maintenance of health, the growth of our mental and artistic powers, the creation of a society where our common and varied interests are realized and satisfied to the highest possible degree. These ends, since they fall within human experience, must be determined in terms of human experience. The ends, or the goods whose realization constitute our happiness, are independent of religious beliefs. These ends have an intrinsic value in human experience apart from any rewards of the gods. As Plato so well described it, the good life is the "health" of the soul, a disposition where every function and aspect of human nature is developed and satisfied.

The means, or the fruitful ways to attain our ends, are also pointed out by experience and knowledge. Historic religions have usually resorted to the supplication of divine powers. Pragmatically this method has failed, and it is being more and more discarded. The effective means open to us is through accurate knowledge. Lack of knowledge deprives us of the power to control. Given the end to be realized, he who brings accurate knowledge or science into play has a far greater chance of succeeding. This Baconian thought that knowledge is power, so common in all other fields, is still a foreign principle in the realms of moral

and spiritual ideals. There is the common notion that physical sciences are materialistic, and that therefore a close relation between sciences and morality is degrading to the latter. But if goodness is no longer an obedience to divine will, or a loyalty to abstract, fixed rules, but the fulfillment of concrete human interests, the realization and consummation of these interests depend upon knowledge.

III

There is one final problem. It may be contended that even though some of the suggestions may be acceptable, the type of outlook that has been described fails at one important point: it does not guarantee, as historic religions do, the ultimate triumph and permanence of the good. Human knowledge and intelligence, however resourceful, is limited and incapable of coping with the changes on earth and beyond it which may eventually bring complete destruction. We meet this contention by accepting it. It may be, and it seems to be very probable, that the final destruction of the race is assured. In the light of the doom of a long series of animal dynasties, civilizations, moons and stars, we must practically concede this. But if ultimate despair and pessimism are unavoidable, what of it? The function of science and philosophy is to free us from our illusions and not to uphold them.

The major function of religion has been to sustain confidence in life, which is always in danger of despair. The inevitable experiences of defeat and death are incessant shocks. Religion, by presenting an ultimate guarantee, has been a source of consolation and satisfaction. The history of this thirst for safety and support in our precarious existence is long and tragic. Human beings, despite the obvious contrary facts, have refused to feel alone in this universe, so they have demanded "a Friend behind phenomena" and a Guarantor for their ideals. We understand the appeal and attractiveness of this guarantee, but we cannot admit its actuality. Because human beings refuse to feel alone in an indifferent universe, it does not mean that their longing for

safety will be fulfilled. And because certain values are ideal, divinely ideal if you wish, it does not follow that they must be permanent. This longing for the safety and for the permanence of values is an emotional demand, and has no intellectual justification. However beautiful these aspirations may be, they are merely prolongations of a wish for a "homelike" universe.

But because there is no ultimate guarantee, it does not follow that the basis of morality and the good life is undermined, as is commonly supposed by religious thinkers. Suppose that this is our whole life, and suppose that sooner or later the human race will be extinguished—does it therefore follow that we must choose the evil and reject the good? Because I know that I shall die, does it mean that I should not enjoy good health or take good care of myself? The good things of life—good health, good human relations, good music, and good poetry—will be the same whether there is immortality or not. There may be a loss of a certain cosmic sweep or cosmic participation in our experience, but particular good things will remain the same.

We admit that if we were certain that we should all die tomorrow, there would be a radical change in the pursuit of good things. There would be, for example, no necessity of starting a long, arduous scientific research, or of beginning far-reaching business enterprises. It may be that at some future period wisdom may instruct human beings to snatch the immediate good things of the day. But for us, with the probability of millions of years for the race, there is no urgency to limit our attention to immediate, momentary values.

Disbelief in an ultimate guarantee, however, need not be only defensive; for the belief in cosmic safety and support, though beautiful and satisfying, has not been altogether beneficial to human beings. In the first place, this belief has caused indifference towards the eradication and elimination of hosts of evils, the task being left with trust and confidence to the will and power of God. Quite often there was no necessity to combat evil, for religion had the almost magical power to transfigure it and to make it appear as good in the ultimate plan and purpose

of things. And, again, many under the spell of a supernatural support, by ignoring and distorting their natural, normal interests in favor of supposed ideal concerns, have suffered greatly and have made others suffer. Disbelief in an ultimate cosmic guarantee may, then, have its positive values, for it may make us more ardent and devoted lovers of the good things of this life, as these are the only values we can enjoy and share, and that, too, only once. It may also urge us to be more vigorous and intelligent in the attainment and consummation of our wishes, as we have to depend on our own resourcefulness and not on the aid of gods.

THE QUEST OF WORLD PEACE

by

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PEACE WITH GUARANTEES

IN MY last article I pointed out the deep division which exists between those who would base international peace on treaty pledges, and those who believe that some sort of international machinery must be created to punish the aggressor. The framers of the Covenant of the League of Nations belonged, of course, to the second school. In Article 10 of the Covenant, they provided for a guarantee of the "territorial integrity and existing political independence of all the members of the League." In Article 16, they provided that if any state went to war without having first submitted its dispute to some form of international inquiry, it should "be deemed to have committed an act of war against all other Members of the League, which hereby undertake immediately to subject it to the severance of all trade or financial relationships, the prohibition of all intercourse between their nationals and the nationals of the covenant-breaking state, and the prevention of all financial, commercial or personal intercourse between the nationals of the covenant-breaking State and the nationals of any other State, whether a member of the League or not." The Council was also authorized to recommend "what effective military, naval or air force the Members of the League shall severally contribute to the armed forces to be used to protect the covenants of the League."

These highly important articles obviously provide for the use of the most drastic economic pressure against a law-breaking state, and make this form of pressure obligatory. They create,

in a much less definite form, an obligation to use force for the preservation of peace.

But they have not stood entirely unaltered as time has gone on. Both the one and the other of them have been subjected to interpretations which somewhat attenuate their value, and which illustrate the fact that even in the deliberations of the League itself, the two points of view treated of in my previous article are clearly revealed.

Let us look first at Article 10. This Article, as is generally known, was the subject of a very vigorous opposition in the United States. It was also very uncongenial to the representatives of Canada at the peace conference, and after the actual establishment of the League organization, the Canadians led a campaign, first, for the deletion of the Article, and second, for its interpretation. The result of their efforts is to be seen in the interpretative resolution which came before the Fourth Assembly in 1923. This resolution declared that, in recommending action in fulfilment of the obligations of Article 10, the Council should "take account of the geographical situation and of the special conditions of each state." It declared that the constitutional authorities of each state must decide to what extent the obligation created by the Article must be carried out by force of arms, but that the recommendation of the Council in this regard must be regarded "as of the highest importance." From one point of view, such language seems common-sensical enough. But, by frankly admitting that each state must be its own judge of the obligation to use force under Article 10, the League resolution opened the door to contradictory action upon the part of member states in any future crisis. It is not surprising that the resolution did not satisfy those governments which attached most importance to the Article, and that it failed of passage, though mustering a large number of votes.

In the same way, Article 16 had been similarly attenuated at an even earlier date. The interpretative resolutions of the second Assembly with regard to this article asserted the principle that each state was the judge of its own obligations. While pro-

viding for a meeting of the Council on the request of any member to consider whether a breach of the Covenant had taken place, and while directing the Council to notify the League Members of its opinion in this regard, it was made all too clear that the Council had no directive power. The fulfilment of the obligation of the Article would be a matter for each government to decide for itself.

It seems to me that it is going too far to say, as has sometimes been said, that the two resolutions just alluded to completely emasculate Articles 10 and 16. As a matter of fact, they certainly do not alter in any respect legal duties of League members, and it is even doubtful whether they do not express the view of those duties which was held by the framers of the Covenant. But they emphasize the fact that a difference of opinion as to the existence of an obligation may easily arise in a concrete case, and they raise doubts, therefore, as to the practical effectiveness of the coercive machinery of the Covenant. It is no wonder that amongst the supporters of the idea of peace by force, it should be felt that the great document of 1919 needed to be supplemented. The efforts to effect this supplementation finally resulted in the treaties of Locarno, of 1925.

But the treaties of Locarno only came into being after more ambitious efforts had failed. In 1923 the Assembly submitted to member states the document known as the Draft Treaty of Mutual Assistance. This document gave to the Council of the League the power to decide within four days of the opening of hostilities which of the High Contracting Parties was the object of aggression, and it bound the signatories of the treaty to undertake mutual assistance in the form determined by the Council as the most effective. In a word, it centralized in the Council of the League wide powers to compel the maintenance of peace. It went much further than a large body of European opinion was ready to go, to say nothing of the fact that it ran counter to the preponderant sentiment of Great Britain and of the British colonies. It remained therefore a project and nothing more.

The Draft Treaty of Mutual Assistance was followed by the

Geneva Protocol of 1924. This document, which was also destined to be rejected, contained none the less some highly interesting provisions. It provided a more satisfactory test than had hitherto been devised as to the fact of aggression in any concrete case. Any state which, having resorted to hostilities, refused to accept an armistice on the call of the Council, was to be deemed guilty of aggression, and was to be subject to the sanctions prescribed by the Covenant. A procedure for the pacific settlement of disputes was elaborated which was more complete than that provided in 1919.

But the protocol, though in part a British project, was not well-received by British and Dominion opinion. As the aloofness of the United States from the League became more and more clearly a matter of fixed policy, British statesmen began to become increasingly apprehensive of the position in which their government might be placed if it were compelled to apply the sanction of the Covenant against an aggressor state. The weapon which they would use would, of course, be the blockade. But suppose the American Department of State objected to such a blockade, what then? Might not the application of the machinery of the Covenant and of the protocol create friction with the government at Washington? Might it not, therefore, be unwise to subscribe to any engagement making more precise and definite the obligations originally assumed? The Conservative government which came into power in the autumn of 1924 virtually took the position that the use of economic pressure, practicable enough in a League of universal character, had become wholly impracticable as a result of the aloofness of the United States. It therefore refused to accept the Geneva protocol.

This decision is one which deserves to be reflected upon. It is doubtful whether most Americans fully understand to what a large degree it was based upon the attitude of our own government. Midway between the theory of peace by force and the theory of peace by promises, lies a third theory, the theory of peace by economic pressure. This theory, from the very fact that it represents a sort of compromise, might seem likely to command

wide-spread support. It has its proponents in the United States. But it can never be translated into fact under existing circumstances. So long as the attitude of the authorities at Washington with regard to a League blockade remains in the field of speculation, just so long will it be impossible for the Geneva organization to invoke this weapon for the preservation of peace. On this point there can be very little doubt.

But the Geneva protocol, if it did not win the commendation of the British government, stimulated a new effort at supplementing the machinery of the Covenant for the maintenance of peace. It brought about the treaties of Locarno. These treaties are so important that they may well form the subject of a more detailed consideration than I can give them now. I shall therefore postpone discussion of them to my next article. Suffice it to say that they represent the culminating point of the theory of the maintenance of peace by force.

UNITY THROUGH SCIENCE

by

F. S. Marvin

Author; Organizer of Courses in Unity History School, England

There is a very curious paradox in practically all the writing of histories about the growth of empires and the unification of mankind. They begin with the Middle East where Babylonia, Egypt, Assyria and Persia all afford examples of the way in which forceful nations, headed by ambitious individuals, succeeded for a time in holding large numbers of tribes and races in subjection. Then they proceed quite properly to Alexander and the spread of Hellenism over the same regions and this is treated as the antecedent and model for the Roman Empire, which has left most mark on the subsequent history of the world. The Catholic Church follows with its empire of another order and the Holy Roman Empire beside it, dividing the sway and confusing the issues. The later attempts, such as that of Louis XIV, Napoleon or the Kaiser are rightly dismissed as impossible anachronisms, and the future, whatever it may contain, is never thought to be capable of another. But no one considers the intellectual advance and consolidation of men's minds in relation to these political events. Science of all sorts, from mathematics to morals, offers the most striking similarities and connections between different nations. Hindus and Arabs cooperate with Greeks in founding mathematics. Chu Hsi, the Chinese sage of the twelfth century A.D., uses identical language about Love as the principle of all things with Dante in the fourteenth. And so on. What effect have these, and the multitude of similar intellectual links, had on the social and political unity of mankind? How does the one set of relations stand towards the other? This seems to be a fascinating and fruitful field of inquiry,

going down to the roots of human society, past and future. But where has it ever been worked out?

It will be well first to make two or three observations of the most general kind, and then to consider how at each of the main stages the relation—between science and politics—seems to have worked, judging the matter in a cursory preliminary survey. The sort of study at which we have hinted above, would be, of course, the work of many life-times. It involves in fact a readjustment of our accustomed point of view towards human consolidations and solidarity altogether.

It is clear, in the first place, that no single factor has been predominant in forming the large societies which are now prevalent, or in welding them together in the world community of the present. That unification in various forms and through various channels is the predominant feature in human evolution can hardly be doubted by any one who turns an eye first on the state of early human societies, isolated and largely hostile, and then on that of the latest world order linked up by League of Nations, peace pacts and the like, besides the multitude of unofficial and often invisible associations. Whatever our fears of the future or our criticisms of the present may be, that stupendous elaboration stands out as the crowning fact of history. Philosophically it is the highest proof of General Smuts' doctrine of Holism. But it would, of course, be absurd to refer it entirely or even mainly to the working of science, i.e. the growth of collective thinking among men. Originally men come to live and act together purely from motives of mutual aid and defence. They are social beings even before they are thinking ones, in the strict sense of scientific thinking.

We may expect therefore from the nature of the case that the unification of the world—and of the large communities within it—would become less based on physical and more on spiritual forces. And this is precisely what history exhibits to us. At no point can we say that the result effected is entirely physical or entirely spiritual; human nature is too complex to allow of these sharp divisions. But it is undoubted—taking the long view,

which is the only possible method in such a study—that large aggregates of men are held together in later times more firmly by spiritual bonds than they were by those of force in earlier days. The British Empire is the classical case. It is the largest aggregate of men ever recognizing one political loyalty. But every one knows now, what no one dreamt of two hundred years ago, that the real bonds are those of the spirit and not of the sword or even of the counting house, and that, what they did not dream of at first, has clearly become the headstone of the corner.

These then are the general truths relating to the case, and it may be well to restate them shortly, before turning to the special application with which we are dealing in this paper:—

(1) Man, being a social creature, lives from the first in communities, partly from necessity, partly from choice; and as civilization advances these communities grow in size.

(2) In the earlier stages of civilization efforts are made to secure under one rule, by forcible conquest, larger and larger numbers of men. The motives of gain and pride are obvious.

(3) That in the process of time the methods of force and the motives of gain become less prominent, and the aggregates of men, which often become larger, are more and more bound by spiritual ties.

(4) In so far as the basis of union becomes spiritual, there is no reason why it should not spread indefinitely. This last consummation is being now attempted in the League of Nations, and of the spiritual agents science is the most perfect, as it is the pure product of cooperative thinking and cannot be created otherwise.

When we turn to the actual record of events to test this *à priori* reasoning, we shall probably think that the earliest stages of all have little to teach on the question of the unification of man by science. It is of course obvious that the conquering raids of the ancient empires, whether by Egyptian Pharaohs or Babylonian kings, or worst of all by the Assyrians, were based on force alone and had the smallest possible admixture of spiritual union. But even here it would be a mistake to overlook the con-

solidation already carried out within the ancient empires themselves by what may be fairly called the initial stages of scientific thinking. The consolidation was not due solely to the military prowess and personal authority of the monarch: there was also the sense of order, the framework of terrestrial and astronomical observation built up by the priesthoods and accepted and acted upon by the people. In the case at least of Egypt this was clearly the larger cause, but, though larger, it has received far less attention from the historian than the personal and more spectacular doings of the ruling sovereign.

This want of due balance in estimating the comparative weight of the various elements in the historical process is now being recognized in the case of recent and contemporary history. Many of us see clearly how small a factor the political element is in the modern world, compared with the economic, scientific, and social, and a vigorous school of historians are pressing this view. But we need to project the same point of view backwards as far as historical records will carry us, and the long ages of the theocratic preparation of Western civilization offer an unlimited and fruitful field for research.

The advent of the Greeks, and above all of the greatest conqueror in the Hellenic world, are more striking and familiar examples. The Hellenization of the Near East is habitually treated as the feat of a marvelous youth inspired to the deeds of his epoch-making career by the poems of Homer, the example of Achilles and the stimulus of other fighting men in his family and company. Thus quite lately at the Annual Meeting of the English Historical Association at Oxford we heard the case of Alexander the Great quoted by one of the Oxford professors as a signal example of the force of the personal and the accidental in history. No sane historian disputes the reality of this element but the sanest are pressing for the recognition of the general factors as still more important. That is to say, to take this case of Alexander as an example, his conquests, and still more their permanence as a turning point in the history of the world, would have been impossible but for the preparation both of the conquering force and

the area which they incorporated by a long process of social and intellectual education. It is the child's view of history to imagine Alexander as the shining youth who goes forth conquering with his own right arm and bringing millions of alien people into a new fold personally prepared by him and hardly surviving his early death. The real course of events is incomparably more subtle and profound. Greek ideas, i.e. essentially the application of reason, inquiry and discussion to human affairs, had been widely diffused in the Middle East but the Greeks themselves had never shown any capacity for combining this with political cohesion. Alexander had power both of conquest and of organization and thus gave these intellectual forces a definite shape and duration in the social order. The Middle East was thus thrown into the Western world for a critical period during which—among other things—Christianity became a world religion. Rome takes up the same organizing which Alexander's empire had begun and carried it out far more thoroughly and permanently. But we should make the same mistake in judging Roman history if we confined our attention, as people have been too apt to do, to the conquering capacity of the Romans or even their own social tenacity in their prime. They play with regard to Greek civilization a similar part on a larger scale to that played by Alexander and they added to it the invaluable achievement of Roman law. Roman law is in itself analogous to Greek science, a parallel application of reason in another sphere, the uniformities and differences of institutions. It is not untrue to regard the Græco-Roman organization of the West as being primarily, and so far as it survived, the most signal example of the unification of society through the scientific spirit.

From the time when the Roman Empire broke up till the beginning of modern science in the fifteenth century there is a period of a thousand years during which in the Western world the most conspicuous fact is the Catholic Church, and it is the time most difficult to judge of from the point of view suggested here. Was the world actually growing together during that time and if so how far can we attribute the movement to anything like

the growth of science? It is impossible here to attempt an answer to these questions but one or two considerations may be pointed out which should be observed by any one who undertakes the task. In the first place the strongest center of scientific thinking during a large part of the time was not in the West but in the Muhammedan East. It was here that the light of ancient thought was chiefly kept burning till the thirteenth century. In the second place it must be remembered that the whole structure of western society was throughout based on the Græco-Roman incorporation which had preceded. Had there not been a Roman empire there could have been no Roman Catholic Church or Holy Roman Empire. Lastly, it is worth considering how far the theology of the Church, elaborated as it was by the fathers and doctors of the Church, does not partake of the nature of scientific thinking. Was it not, as some one said of the Holy Roman Empire itself, the ghost of the old science sitting on the tomb thereof and holding a spectral sway until the resurrection of its original at the Renaissance? However we may answer these questions, there can be no doubt at all about the reality of the influence of modern science when it came to life with Galileo and Newton: and this is the most important part of the subject for us who are now living in an age when the due control and direction of the scientific movement in the interest of world unity and progress are the most vital interests. Directly due to the scientific construction of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries we have the knitting up of the world both by abstract and accurate thinking, and, still more apparent to the outward eye, the network of mechanical relations which are in fact only the visible sign of the mental consolidation going on within. These outward means are coming steadily more and more under the control of international forces. Trade, Finance, Transport, Communications are now all recognized as matters in which the voice of united mankind, whether it be through the League of Nations or any other organization, must be heard. All these things have their root in scientific thinking and for this reason it is of the first importance to understand how science contains within itself the very root

and essence of unity among men. It is of course perfectly true and obvious that agreement in thinking does not necessarily carry with it agreement in action. Love of our fellow men and a good-will to work with them must come in to make right action prevail. But yet at bottom it is the agreement between any two men as to their perceptions of external phenomena on which all common action is based. The point is well brought out in the latest book on the metaphysics of this subject, Professor Eddington's "Nature of the Physical World." He is not a partisan of the strict determinist view of things which is supposed to be drawn from the scientific synthesis of the seventeenth century. He is full of new ideas and speaks rather too lightly of the "Downfall of Classical Physics." But one of the most interesting and valuable parts of his book is where he shows that science, all thinking, in fact, on which we may safely act, is based on the coincidence of at least two consciousnesses. It is that which we instinctively and necessarily accept as the guarantee of the validity of a conclusion. The whole universe in fact is a social product and we build up the universe both of thought and action by developing this fundamental agreement between separate minds which would otherwise have no guarantee of an external world at all.

Could we have a stronger reason for treating the history of science as an integral, even the fundamental, part of the history of man?

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ROUND TABLE

Brent Dow Allinson's view that American aloofness from post-war international engagements represents an effort to recapture the influence of neutrality sacrificed in 1917 and 1918, is refreshingly different from the usual opinion that America for ten years has consistently betrayed the cause of international cooperation. This divergence seems to arise from the necessity to decide whether American armed intervention on the side of the Allies reinforced the *permanent* forces of good or evil.

We advance the conviction that an America more deeply conscious of its spiritual destiny would have remained out of the war, would have resisted illegal measures by the Allies as strenuously as by the Central Powers, holding war itself and not any one nation or nations the real enemy, and that had this policy been followed to the end the war would have resulted in a stale mate such that humanity would have possessed a moral and social basis for permanent peace.

By "grafting a new limb upon the withered tree of war," this country unwittingly gave new impetus to conflict, restored the illusion of military victory, precipitated another cycle of violence, transferred militarism to the Orient and bequeathed to Europe a condition of class struggle which actually looses the spirit of war from armies and navies to the entire population.

* * *

The question is not academic or futile. If peace and world order are a matter of human destiny, a necessary stage in social evolution, the same set of circumstances will return until the lesson has been consciously learned.

It is the highest order both of pacifism and Americanism to promote understanding of the gulf between cooperation for the fruits of battle, and cooperation for a system of true peace.

WORLD UNITY FOUNDATION

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THE most powerful influence in the world today is that which, in numerous forms and under widely different conditions, makes for *re-education.* Every thoughtful person has become aware of the need to assimilate something at least of the new facts and viewpoints brought forward by creative workers in science, philosophy, history and religion. More important at present than the material changes which, in less than a century, have transformed the outer circumstances of life, is the rapid mental and moral readjustment we all are forced to undergo in order to restore the balance between the individual and his revolutionized social environment.

These profound advances and significant discoveries intersect in one common ideal—the ideal of human solidarity. In this concept of *world unity* we possess a common meeting ground for all sincere students and workers, a focal point of social power blending, as no other concept can, the necessary factors and elements constituting the complete human life.

The World Unity Foundation represents an organized and collective effort to make this concept a living issue, a source of enlightenment and inspiration, and an ever-expanding basis of cooperation for men and women seeking to understand and solve the fundamental problems now threatening to disrupt the world. Its aim is confined to the sphere of education—its scope enables it to serve and cooperate with groups and individuals irrespective of their race, religion, nationality or class.

The aims of the Foundation are inclusive, and not to be confounded with those of organizations serving any one limited field, whether that of international peace, the advancement of science or the promotion of any religious program.

METHODS AND FACILITIES

THE program of World Unity activities promoted by the Foundation is essentially an extension of the adult educational movement to include the moral and spiritual factors underlying true social progress. This program is entirely non-partisan and non-sectarian, having no interest in propaganda in the negative sense of the word. World Unity Foundation endorses no particular political theory, economic doctrine, social philosophy or religious creed, its endeavor being rather to assist in bringing about that general realization of the need for world brotherhood which alone can bring any useful principles to their full fruitage.

The program of activities maintained by World Unity Foundation is threefold, touching the intellectual and moral life of society at many vital points.

World Unity Conferences

DURING the past three years, a series of public meetings has been held in nearly thirty cities of the United States and Canada. Employing the uniform designations of "World Unity Conferences", these meetings have brought directly to the people of the local communities the considered views of leading scholars, clergymen and rabbis upon the vital issues of world peace, religious unity, racial amity and subjects of similar general importance.

The Conferences have long passed their preliminary, experimental stage. As now held, they have become a definite type of public meeting possessing its own character and imbued with a distinct influence. It has been through the cordial cooperation of well known speakers, authors and scholars that the Conferences have been privileged to offer so many illuminating addresses during this period. At present, the Director of World Unity Foundation has on hand more requests from local organizations for similar Conferences than can be arranged without a great increase in the facilities.

The *Evening Transcript* of Boston described the Conferences in an article published December 11, 1926. "Probably no more universal public forum exists in this country today than the World Unity Conferences supply, since they offer the same hospitality to Jew and Moslem as to Chrstian, and to scientist or to philosopher as to religionist, while the black and yellow races have also found on this platform a place not inferior to that accorded the white. The selection of speakers, however, does uphold a strict standard of suitability, in that each speaker must represent some approach to the problem of world unity."

Institute of World Unity

ESTABLISHED to promote the same ideals as the Conferences, the *Institute of World Unity* enables those most deeply interested to go more thoroughly into the recent developments of history, science, philosophy and religion than can be done in the brief time allowed the public speaker.

The Institute functions as an informal school, with a lecture program covering a wide field of popular interest. The programs given during the first four seasons reveal a high standard of scholarship. The Institute, in brief, solves the problem of how men and women who seek to know the vital conquests and discoveries of modern thought can bring these into their own lives as a fresh stimulus and awakening, without academic requirements or formalities.

The lecturers so far include: Herbert Adams Gibbons, John Herman Randall, Jr., Samuel Lucas Joshi, Kirtley F. Mather, William R. Shepherd, Frank H. Hankins, Edwin A. Burtt, Nathaniel Schmidt, Parker T. Moon, Carleton J. H. Hayes, A. Eustace Haydon, Dexter Perkins, Rexford G. Tugwell, Cassius J. Keyser, Alfred W. Martin and Harry A. Overstreet.

World Unity Magazine

THE rich variety and significant scope of the subjects presented at the World Unity Conferences and also at the Institute of

World Unity led inevitably to the realization that the world unity movement required its own distinctive organ and literature. The first issue of *World Unity Magazine* appeared October 1, 1927, sponsored by a list of Contributing Editors representing Europe and the Orient, as well as the United States and Canada.

The value of a current literature on international subjects grows more apparent with each successive political or economic crisis, and *World Unity Magazine* in this brief period has won the interest and respect of responsible scholars and public minded people in many lands.

World Unity Library

Selective distribution has been made of a number of reprints from *World Unity,* more particularly: *A Reading List of Current Books on World Unity,* prepared by John Herman Randall, Jr., and *Building Up the International Mind,* by H. A. Overstreet.

A more important contribution to literature has recently been made possible through cooperation with the F. A. Stokes Company in the publication of a series of books known as *World Unity Library.* The first two titles are: *A World Community,* by John Herman Randall, and *Nationalism and Internationalism,* by Herbert Adams Gibbons.

The Director of World Unity Foundation has been appointed editor of another series of works regarded as a highly significant expression of current thought: *Religion and the Modern Age.*

MEMBERSHIP IN WORLD UNITY FOUNDATION

TRANSLATING, as it does, all its facilities into direct public activities which promote the ideals and principles the value of which all fair-minded people agree upon, World Unity Foundation already possesses active agencies of service capable of extending useful cooperation to individuals and organizations aroused to the fundamental issues of the hour.

The work of the Foundation is maintained by voluntary subscriptions, gifts and legacies, and the following classes of membership are available to those who would appreciate an opportunity of contributing to the realization of the ideal of *world unity.*

Annual Member	**$10**	**Life Member**	**$100**
Sustaining Member	**$25**	**Patron**	**$500**
Associate Member	**$50**	**Fellow**	**$1000**

Benefactor $5000

Members receive complimentary copies of *World Unity Magazine* and all literature of the Foundation.

That the Foundation has rendered notable service to the cause of education for world peace and international cooperation is amply demonstrated by the demand for its public meetings and the quality of its general literature.

As an agency which is influencing the minds of thousands of people, and turning their attention for the first time toward the real meaning of present-day world events, the Foundation merits support from those who desire to make their lives count in the struggle between the forces of civilization and chaos in possession of the world today.

A Prospectus and Membership Application Blank will be sent by the Director on request.

WORLD UNITY FOUNDATION 4 East 12th Street New York